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Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry.

[601]

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry*

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/ga*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	≠*tum*	/*utsu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tsu*	//*ga*	
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tsu*	//*ga*	
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	/*umba*	/*undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	≠*tum*	/*utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tsu*	//*ga*	

[587] Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego		*Female ego*	
	Joking		*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kui, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

/Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no
852 longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the
611 mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman, and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

UUKUALUTHI
!KUNG

[16]

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601 Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative Khoi Xa-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

NARON
‡AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
(842) spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

582 ‡Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old, girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

B /260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the 191 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau 192 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this 193 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

B H 192 601

Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
B H Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
192 Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and
●601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

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test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ka siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaa* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soig||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsaa||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsaa||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

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4 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

PART I: /KUNG KIN TERMINOLOGY

Some General Principles

●601 1. Terminologically no two persons may be simultaneously interrelated in more than one way. Persons may change their terminological relationship by marriage or, under some circumstances, by having their names changed, but when this occurs the former terminological relationship is supplanted by the latter.

2. Except in the relationship of Hu, Wi, DaHu, and WiFa, the relative biological age of any two persons applying kin terms to each other is almost invariably indicated. Either the terms *per se* imply relative age, as do the terms for biological father and son, or the term has a diminutive form which is applied by the older person to the younger.

3. The same terms are used both in address and in reference, except the term for Mo, which has a vocative form as well. In reference, but not in address, the possessive adjective precedes the term, as for instance *mi !ha*, my son. In address children usually double the terms; they say, for example, *tsu tsu*, 'uncle uncle'. The exception to this is the vocative form of the term for Mo which we did not hear doubled.

4. It is to be assumed that the terms are the same, man-speaking (m.s.) and woman-speaking (w.s.), unless the contrary is indicated.

5. In the description of the /Kung kinship system, when we use the English terms without designating relationships more specifically it is because our terminology fits the /Kung system. When we say grandparents we mean precisely to include FaFa, MoFa, FaMo, and MoMo. The terms uncle and aunt include siblings of both of ego's parents and the spouses of those siblings. The /Kung make no distinction between paternal and maternal cousins, nor between cross and parallel cousins, so one can conveniently use the term cousin to include FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa. When we use the terms nephew and niece we include BrSo, SiSo, BrDa, SiDa.

It will be useful for analytical purposes to distinguish two constellations of 'kin' terminology which we shall refer to as System A and System B. System A is applied to consanguineous kin and to persons classified with them by being named for and by having the same name as consanguineous kin and, in the case of spouses of collaterals, by being married to consanguineous kin. System B is applied to affines.

System A

We distinguish three categories of terms within System A. Category one comprises *parent–child terms*; category two, *sibling terms*; category three comprises two pairs of terms, with an alternate to one of the terms, woman-speaking, making five terms in all. We shall refer to the terms of category three as *generational terms*.[1]

[1] Professor Douglas Oliver, who kindly read and criticized the manuscript, helped us with many excellent suggestions for which we are most grateful. It was he who suggested, among other things, the designation 'generational terms' for this category, and pointed out the generational structure.

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Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha ($ŋ/^ha$)
Da	≠khai ($ŋ$≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsī (tsĭ)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsū)	ǁga (g/ǁ^ha)
/gu/na (/u$ŋ$/^ha)	tūn (txū$ŋ$)
tun/ga w.s. (txu$ŋ$.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *ǁga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tūn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral /.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ʔai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/gum* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

601 'young' or 'small', to the term. In some instances the diminutives used man-speaking are derived from different terms from those used woman-speaking.

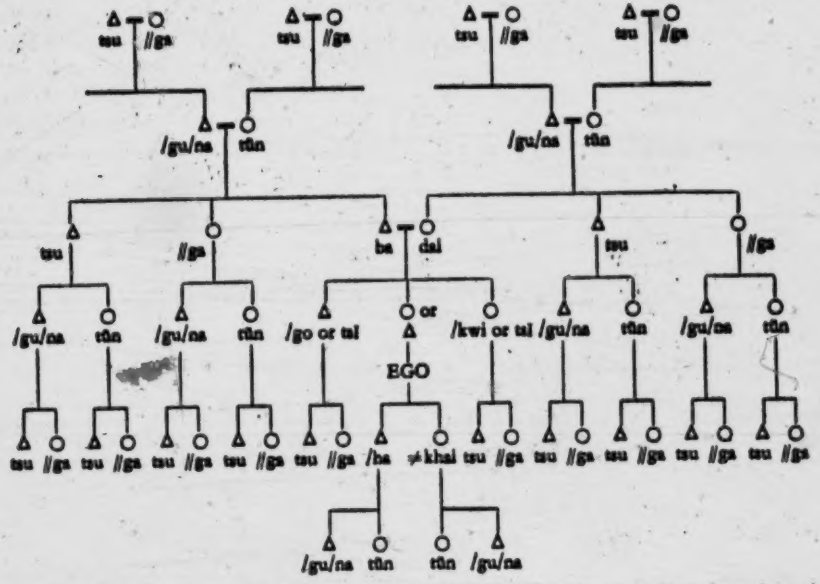
Term	*Diminutive*
Applied to males	
tsu	tsuma m.s. w.s. (tsûm^{h}a)
/gu/na	/guma m.s. (/ûm^{h}a) toma w.s. (txwôm^{h}a)
tun/ga w.s.	toma w.s.
Applied to females	
tûn	toma m.s. /guma w.s.
//ga	tsuma m.s. //gama w.s. (g//^{h}am^{h}a)

The generational terms may apply to all lineal kin and to all collateral kin save those related by parent-child or sibling ties.

Ego applies the terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tûn* to persons in his own generation and in generations alternate with his own; he applies *tsu* and *//ga* to persons in generations adjacent to his own or alternate with these latter.

Thus System A appears as in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1



Terms for lineal and collateral relatives may be continued into the descending generations, alternating as in the ascending generations.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be explained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

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553 [551] 7. Names are occasionally changed.

8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), */kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: */gu/na* (*tun/ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term */gu/na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. */Gu*[1] means name, */na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is */guma*, small or young name. As terms */gu/na* and */guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as */gu*, the word for name.

[114 194]

[1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as */ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's */ku* and our */gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. */ũ*.

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601

Another term is derived from */gu*, i.e. *dilguma*. *Di* means female, */guma* small or young name. *Dilguma* is applied, m.s. and w.s., only to women who have the same name as one's mother and is an alternate to *||ga* in this one sense.

When the generational method of applying terms was described we saw */gu!na* applied, m.s. and w.s., in ego's generation and the generations of ego's grandfather and grandson, to males only. Woman-speaking, as a generational term */gu!na* had an alternate, *tun!ga*, which was preferred. *Tũn* is the term applied to females associated with these generations.

When the homonymous method is used the term */gu!na*, or its diminutive */guma*, is applied by a male to a male, and by a female to a female. Ego applies the term to persons named for him and to the person for whom he is named. He also applies the term to persons who have the same name as himself, but who are not named for him, with two exceptions: (1) siblings, though they are not named for each other, frequently have the same name, being named for the same person. When this occurs the sibling terms are retained, taking precedence over the term */gu!na*; and (2) in certain affinal relationships the affinal term is retained even though ego and the affine have the same name (see p. 16).

In addition the terms applied to persons named for ego's spouse are */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. The affinal terms for spouse are used only for ego's actual spouse. Persons named for the spouse, who is terminologically of ego's generation, have the generational terms applied to them which classify them with ego's generation.

The term *tũn* is applied to a woman who is the spouse of any male whom ego terms */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.). *Tun!ga* is the term applied to the spouse of a woman whom a female ego terms */gu!na*.

Kin who are named for ego's parents or offspring, for his siblings, or for himself or his spouse constitute the basis but not the limit of classification of kin by the homonymous method. Other kin in ego's and in the *descending* generations are classified by ego into the same three categories if they have been named for the kin who were originally so classified. For example, ego applies the term *tsu* to A because A was named for ego's Fa, and he continues to apply the term *tsu* to persons who are named for A, and so forth.

To understand how the method works in the *ascending* generations we must look at the same three categories from another point of view, seeing ego classified with the person for whom he is named, i.e. his */gu!na*. Ego's */gu!na*'s parents use the term *tsu* (the 'adjacent' generational term) for a male ego, *||ga* for a female ego, because ego is named for their offspring. Ego's */gu!na*'s So and Da use the terms *tsu* or *||ga* for ego because ego is named for their parent. Ego's */gu!na*'s siblings apply a sibling term to ego because he is named for their sibling. And ego's */gu!na*'s spouse uses the generational terms which place ego in the same generation as the spouse—i.e. */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*, classifying ego with the spouse because he is named for the spouse. In each case ego reciprocates.

It will be more convenient to keep ego's point of view in our illustrations and to express the situation from ego's angle, stating that ego applies the term *tsu* or *||ga* to his */gu!na*'s Fa, Mo, So, and Da; */go*, */kwi* or *tsĩ*, the sibling terms, to his */gu!na*'s siblings; and */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* to his */gu!na*'s spouse.

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
347 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

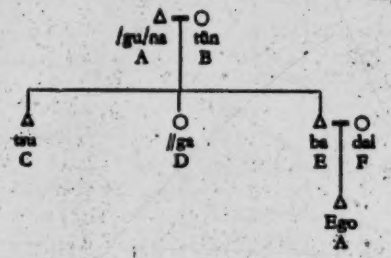
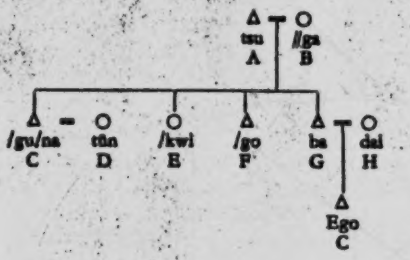


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũ* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



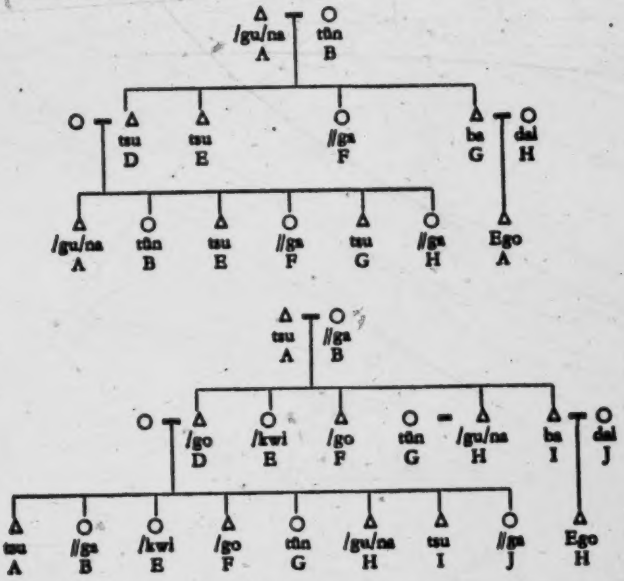
Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

his */gu/na*'s nuclear family the same terms that he applied to the persons for whom they were named. Diagram 4 illustrates this point.

DIAGRAM 4

Diagram 4 shows terms applied to cousins. In the first instance ego is named for his FaFa, in the second for his FaBr.



Diagrams 5 and 6 show how the homonymous method appears when ego applies terms to persons who are named for himself and his own parents, children, siblings, and spouse, and to the persons who are named for them.

We have been assuming up to this point in the illustrations that ego is named for someone on his father's side of the family. What has been said about the paternal side would be applicable to the maternal side if ego were named for someone on that side. We shall refer to either the paternal or maternal side as the *off-side* if it does not include the person for whom ego is named. Diagram 7 illustrates the application of terms on the off-side.

Unless a person is terminologically taken out of his biological generation through the factor of the name, the terms applied by the generational method are retained.

Grandparents on the off-side are always termed */gu/na* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.) and *tŧn*, or, since they are biologically older, it is more precise to say that they apply the term */gu/na* or *tsu/ga* to a male ego, *tŧn* to a female ego, and that ego reciprocates. These are the generational terms applied in the generational method, retained because ego is not named for the parent or child of his off-side grandparents, which would require the term *tsu* or *//ga* to be applied.

DIAGRAM 5

● 601 Diagram 5 shows what terms ego would apply to nephews and nieces, children of his brother D, if the children were named, as they customarily would be, for ego's Fa, Mo, and his siblings. The illustration also shows the terms and the names carried, linked together, into the descending generation. (We use two affinal terms here, BrWi, *tûn*, and Wi, *tsau*. Cf. p. 16.)

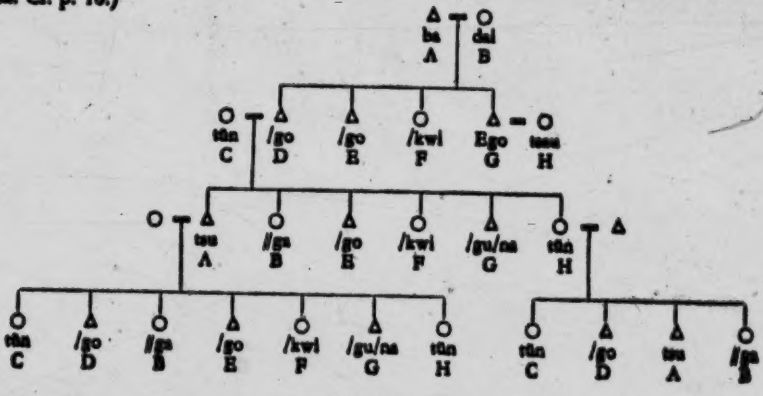


DIAGRAM 6

In Diagram 6 it is assumed, for variety, that ego is a woman. The illustration shows what terms she would apply to her grandchildren if they were named, as they customarily would have been named, by their Fa, ego's son C.

It can be seen in Diagram 6 how it is that grandparents and grandchildren do not fall into the sibling category with respect to each other and are never, therefore, termed */go* and */kwi*, but always */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tûn* or *tsu* and *//ga*. For ego to use the sibling terms [553] for a grandchild, that child would have to be named for ego's Br or Si. This, the /Kung told us, is not their custom.

Ego, being a woman in this illustration, uses the term */gu/na* for her granddaughter A who is named for her. (We remind the reader that, for the sake of brevity, we are omitting diminutive forms. Actually */guma* is the form of the term used for the younger person.) Ego's grandson B is named for ego's husband. */Hoa* is the term for the actual husband. The term */gu/na* is used for someone named for one's husband.

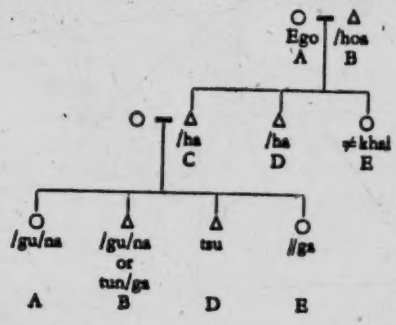


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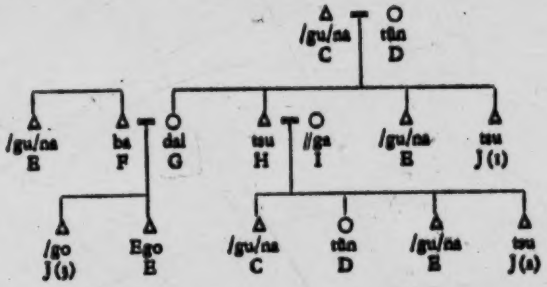
Diagram 7 assumes that ego's uncles H and J (1) retain the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu* for ego for the same reason, namely, that in this case the factor of the name requires no other. Ego's maternal uncle E applies the term */gu/na* to ego because he and ego have the same name.

Whereas ego applies the term */gu/na* to anyone either named for or having the same name as himself, in other relationships a distinction is made between being named for someone and merely having the same name. In Diagram 7 it is to be noted that, although ego has a brother named J (3), he does not apply the sibling terms to J (1) or J (2). J (1), assumed to be older than ego, established the term used between them, which is the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu*. As J (2) is named for J (1), not for ego's Br, ego uses the term *tsu* for J (2). He would use the sibling term for someone named for his brother.

DIAGRAM 7

Ego is named for his FaBr E. This diagram shows terms applied to the side of the family which does not include the person for whom ego is named. Ego is assumed to be younger than his uncles and aunts and older than his cousins.



There is one further complexity which may beset the student of /Kung kin terminology in his effort to understand the principles upon which the application of terms is based. Names may be changed and, when they are, the person is reclassified and the kin terms applied to him or her are changed accordingly. One blazing hot day in the werft I heard old Hama call her little granddaughter *//gama* (diminutive of *//ga*). I felt the whole system, which had caused me so much difficulty and confusion, begin to swirl and dissolve into formlessness, for the child was named for old Hama and, if I understood the system at all, old Hama must call that child */guma* (diminutive of */gu/na*). I fanned myself with my helmet, kept my voice low and asked old Hama if I had heard correctly. 'Oh, yes,' she said. Little Hama's name had been changed, she told me. Her son Gao, the other day when his sister was visiting, had decided to give his sister's name to his daughter instead of old Hama's. Now she and her little granddaughter were *//ga* and *//gama* to each other. Old Hama said she was very disappointed. I was not. I took a deep breath and went on to the next task.

The Name-Relationship

In the /Kung kinship system, generational and sibling terms are applied to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties with ego if they have the same names as

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by
601 his parents and his */gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term */gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a */gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms */gu!na* unless the */gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *‖ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except */gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list.

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *//ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*.

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-//ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-//ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms.

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings.

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

601 previously used and adopts the term which is linked to the affinal relationship, even if the person has the same name as himself.

The primary affinal relationships comprise: the spouses of siblings; ego's spouse; the parents and siblings of ego's spouse, and the spouses of the latter; the spouses of ego's offspring and their parents.

Three pairs of terms are applied exclusively to affines: (1) */hoa* (man), Hu, and *tsau* (woman), Wi (these have no diminutives); (2) ≠*tum* (≠ǂum), dim. ≠*tumma* (rare), and */utsu* (/'utsu), dim. */utsuma*; and (3) */umba* (ŋ/um.ba), dim. */umbama* and */undai* (ŋ/un.tʰai), dim. */undaima*. The diminutives are not always used among affines. The older person sometimes uses the term itself for the younger.

	Applied to males:		*Applied to females:*		
	Affinal term	*Term applied to kin named for affine*		*Affinal term*	*Term applied to kin named for affine*
		Ego's generation			
Hu	/hoa	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	Wi	tsau	tĩn
SoWiFa, DaHuFa	/umba	/gu/na *or* tun/ga w.s.	SoWiMo, DaHuMo	/undai	tĩn
		Generations adjacent to ego's			
HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	tsu	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	//ga
		The sibling category			
SiHu	tun/ga m.s. tun/ga w.s.	tsu m.s. /gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	BrWi	tĩn m.s. /utsu w.s.	tĩn m.s. //ga w.s.
HuBr	tun/ga w.s.	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi w.s.	/kwi w.s.
WiSiHu	/go m.s.	/go m.s.	WiSi	tĩn m.s.	tĩn m.s.
WiBr	tun/ga m.s.	tsu m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu m.s.	//ga m.s.
HuSiHu	≠tum w.s.	tsu w.s.	HuSi	/utsu w.s.	//ga w.s.

The term *tun/ga* is applied exclusively to affines, man-speaking. Woman-speaking, *tun/ga* is used as a generational term, an alternate to */gu/na*, and is also applied to affines. (The diminutive of *tun/ga* is *tun/gama* m.s. and *toma* w.s.) The generational term *tĩn* m.s., and the sibling terms are also used for affines.

Consanguineous kin of ego's may be named for any of the primary affines, for instance, his grandchildren for his SoWiFa or SoWiMo, &c. The exclusively affinal terms are not used for those consanguineous kin, but generational or sibling terms are used which correspond with the affinal terms. The reason for the correspondence between the terms will become apparent when we discuss the joking relationship later on (see pp. 19, 20). The terms are listed below. The siblings of spouses show a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern. The sibling who is the same sex as ego's spouse corresponds to the */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.)–*tĩn* category, the sibling of opposite sex corresponds to the *tsu*–*//ga* category. Spouses of ego's spouse's siblings correspond in the same way. An informant explained the use of the sibling term */go* for WiSiHu,

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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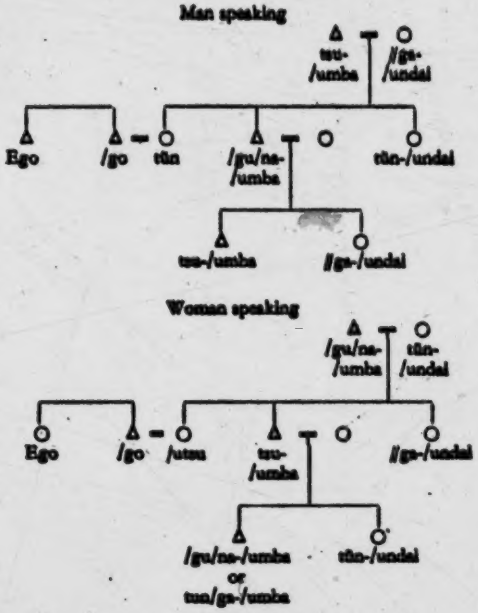
saying, ' That man and I married sisters. We are therefore like brothers.' The same analogy could be made for HuBrWi, */kwi*.

There is a group of affines we call ' secondary ' to distinguish them from primary affines. They differ from primary affines in that terms are not linked to the relationship as terms are to the primary affines but, as in the case of collateral kin, terms may be applied by either the generational or the homonymous method.

Diagram 8

Diagram 8 illustrates the application of terms to secondary affines by the generational method. Ego's BrWi (*tûn* m.s., */ui:u* w.s.) is the point of reference.



The secondary affines comprise the parents, children and siblings of primary affines who are not themselves primary affines, such as SoWiFa, or consanguineous kin, such as grandchildren.

The terms applied to secondary affines are the generational and sibling terms combined with the affinal terms */umba* and */undai*, i.e. *tsu-/umba* and *//ga-/undai*; */gu/na* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.)-*/umba* and *tûn-/undai*; */ge-/umba* and */kwi-/undai*; *tsi-/umba* and *tsi-/undai*. Though it is strictly correct to use the combined term, many people dropped one or the other part in addressing each other, especially */umba* or */undai* if speaking to children.

The homonymous method takes precedence and terms are applied to secondary affines in the same way as they are applied to name-relatives. In actual practice ego

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add */umba* or */undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops */umba* and */undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s.		/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
when collateral	tũn w.s.		
when affine	/kwi w.s.		
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-
684 hibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are ' like ' parents. Cousins, they say, are ' like ' siblings and nephews and nieces ' like ' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms $\neq$*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tun!ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */umba* and */undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

602 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *‖ga* or *dilguma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tun!ga* m.s. and */utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

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The following table gives the joking status of each term.

Consanguineous kin — *Affines*

Ego's generation and alternate generations

Joking permitted

(Ego)			Hu	/hoa	
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau	
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba	
	tûn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai	
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba	
				tun/ga-/umba	w.s.
				tûn-/undai	

Generations adjacent to ego's

Joking prohibited

Fa	ba	HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	ǂtum	
Mo	dai			
So	/ha	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	
Da	ǂkhai			
Anyone termed:	tsu	Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba	
	//ga		//ga-/undai	
	di/guma			

Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking permitted

Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tûn	m.s.
Younger Br	tai	m.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
Younger Si	tai	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.			
	/kwi	w.s.			
Any male termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tai	w.s.			

Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking prohibited

Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tai	w.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	HuSiHu	ǂtum	w.s.
Younger Si	tai	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.			
	/kwi	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tai	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602
and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational

method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term */gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later */gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term */go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

GIKWE

CHART OF UKWANE'S FAMILY

KEY

= *marriage*
= *siblings*
= *man*
= *woman*
= *dead man*
= *dead woman*

[P. x]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
kung

KUNG

CHART OF TOMA'S FAMILY

[P.xi]

601

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them.

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, **ca** "father" is identical with **ca** "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". **Xoa** "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, **xai** being the feminine ending of ʘpwaxai "daughter", and ǁkaxai "sister", the masculine forms of which are ʘpwoŋ "son", and ǁkã "brother".

In Nama **oa** is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", **oaï** is "child", while **xai** signifies "to cohabit", **xais** being often used as "wife".

Oa forms the plural **oakn-gu** or **okn-gu**, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". **Xoa** forms **xoakn-gu** "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words **ibo, itau** are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though **i** alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says **ibo**," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be **i oa**. **Ibo** sometimes becomes **bobo**. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending **ba**, and **itau** with the Nama feminine plural ending **ti** or **te**, corresponding to an old femine singular **ta**, now turned in Nama to **sa**. **Taras** is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly **te, ite, aiti** appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e as in **ǂaiti** "wife", "woman", **ǂkoïte** "granny", ʘpwaitente "mother-in-law", **ǁk'aiti** "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

601 193 196 601
[p. 57]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

193 n or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǂkŏĭŋ "grandfather", ǁkā "brother", ʘpwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".

[196] [601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 [192] On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ibo, we say i ca, but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ibo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

193 196 601 ʘpwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes "child", which in ǂxam is ǂkwā. That ʘpoŋ "son" and ʘpwaxai "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ʘpwai-ǂhi "father-in-law" is derived from ʘpwa "child" and ǂhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ʘpwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǂkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 601 ǁkā, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The adjective ǂkəri simply means "big".

I think ǃkōŋ, ǃkoĩte "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuĩya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". ǂoa ǃke-ko means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǂxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-ʘpwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

601

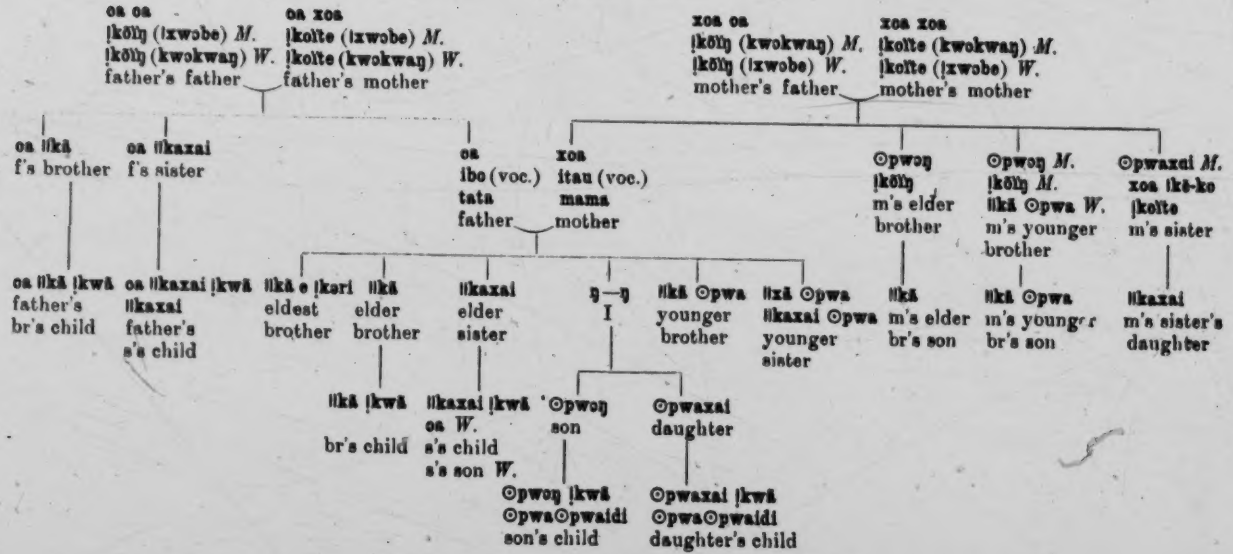
10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

[Cp. 60]

Tables of Bushman Terms of Relationship

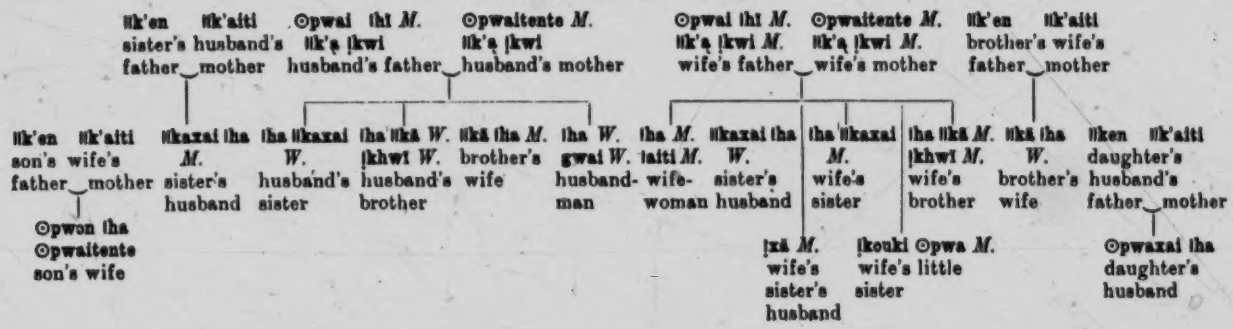
1. Southern Group: Among the ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e

(a) Blood relations



M. means man speaking; *W.* means woman speaking.

(b) *Relations by Marriage*


ǂk'en sister's father
ǂk'aiti husband's mother
⊙pwai ǂhi M. ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's father
⊙pwaitente M. ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's mother
⊙pwai ǂhi M. ǂk'a ǂkwi M. wife's father
⊙pwaitente M. ǂk'a ǂkwi M. wife's mother
ǂk'en brother's father
ǂk'aiti wife's mother
ǂk'en son's father
ǂk'aiti wife's mother
⊙pwon ǂha ⊙pwaitente son's wife
ǂkaxai ǂha M. sister's husband
ǂha ǂkaxai W. husband's sister
ǂha ǂkā W. ǂkhwi W. husband's brother
ǂkā ǂha M. brother's wife
ǂha W. gwai W. husbandman
ǂha M. ǂaiti M. wife-woman
ǂkaxai ǂha W. sister's husband
ǂha ǂkaxai M. wife's sister
ǂha ǂkā M. ǂkhwi M. wife's brother
ǂkā ǂha W. brother's wife
ǂken daughter's husband's father
ǂk'aiti mother
⊙pwaxai ǂha daughter's husband
ǂxā M. wife's sister's husband
ǂkouki wife's little sister
⊙pwa M.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
Auen
Kung

601 [597] I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǂ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǂkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 601 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tai or aiŋ "brother", tsisi "sister"; where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] 196 601 Ma is the diminutive ending; ǂna means "big, grown up", ǂga means "old, worn out". ǂku or ǂkū I think means "kinsman" or "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tahu or tau, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǂkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǂko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǂkoĩte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǂku or ǂkõĩŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǂkwā and ǂkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǂkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father"; which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǁen terms are apparently borrowed from **Naron**, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǁkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dzou "sister-in-law". ǁkū is simply **Naron** for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used **Naron** words or **Naron** forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 ● [192]

The ǂkuŋ terms show more variety. ǂkū tnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǁga and ǁge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǁkā "brother", or of the **Naron** ǁka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǂkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The **Naron** *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as **mama**. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either **aba** or ǁku. **Aba** is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. **Eisha** I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǁkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǁkuŋ **kwena** means "grown-up people", ǁkuŋ ǂarro **kwena** "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

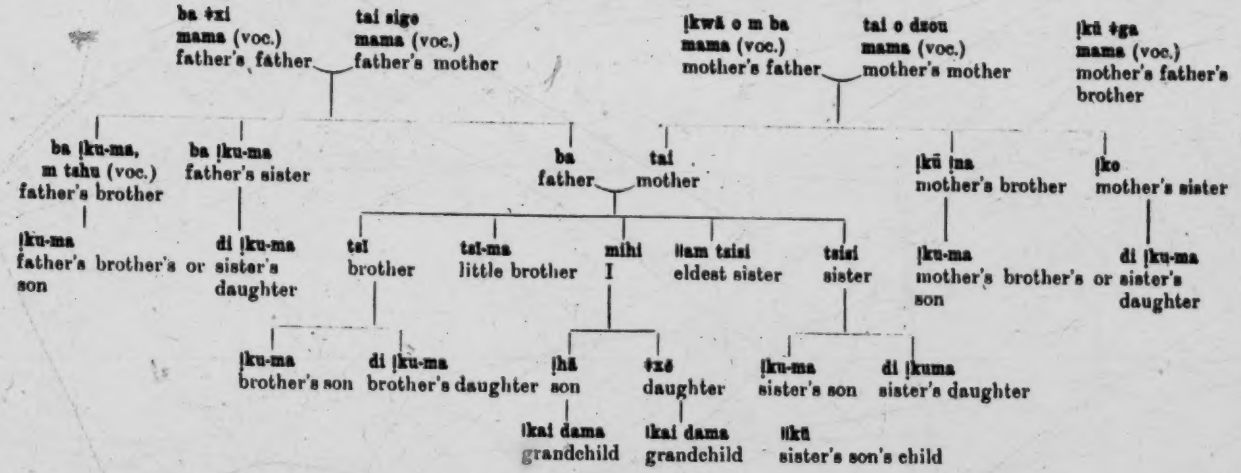
Likewise the word tahō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

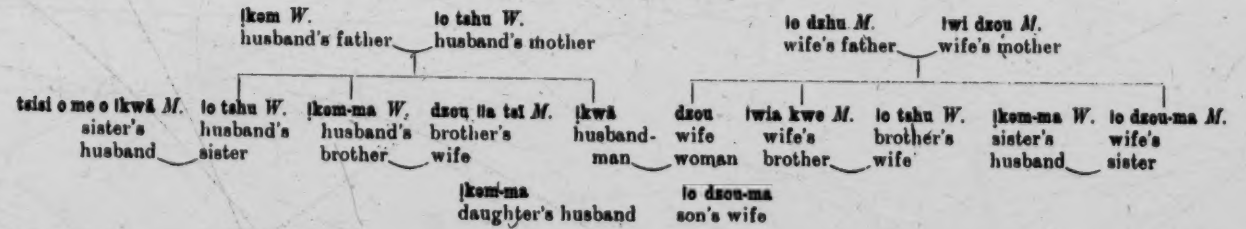
10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

2. Northern Group: Among the ǂk'au ǁen (Auen)

(a) *Blood relations*

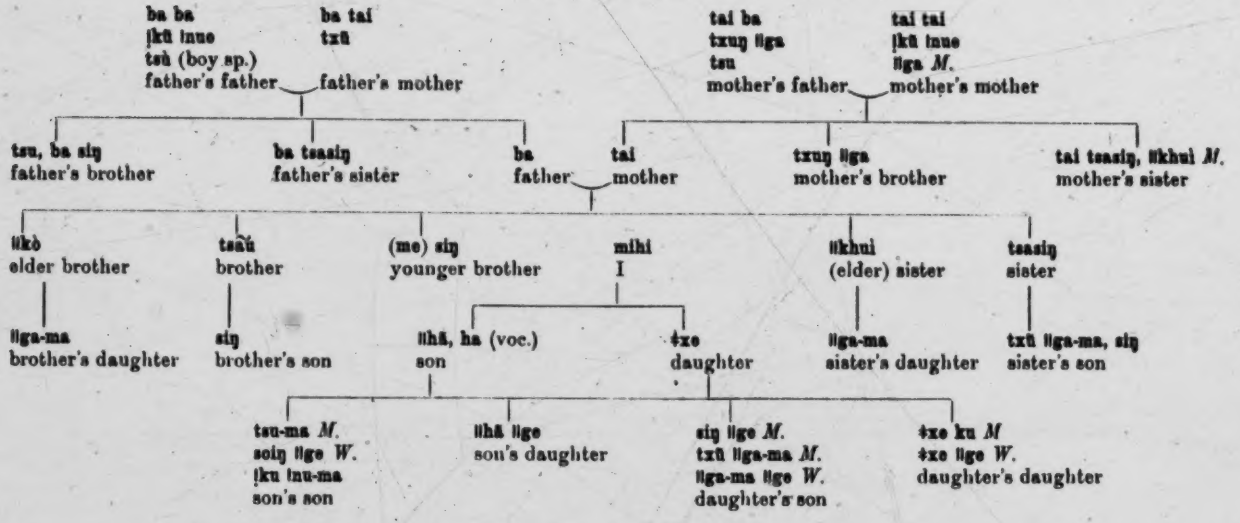


(b) *Relations by Marriage*

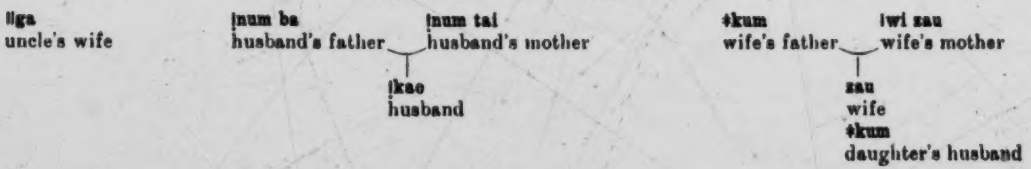


[p. 64]

(a) *Blood relations*



(b) *Relations by Marriage*



[p. 65]

601

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
● 601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

591 Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

606 A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

183 There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
593 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ǂku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in **ǂkasho** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǂkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǂkau ǂen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǂkun** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

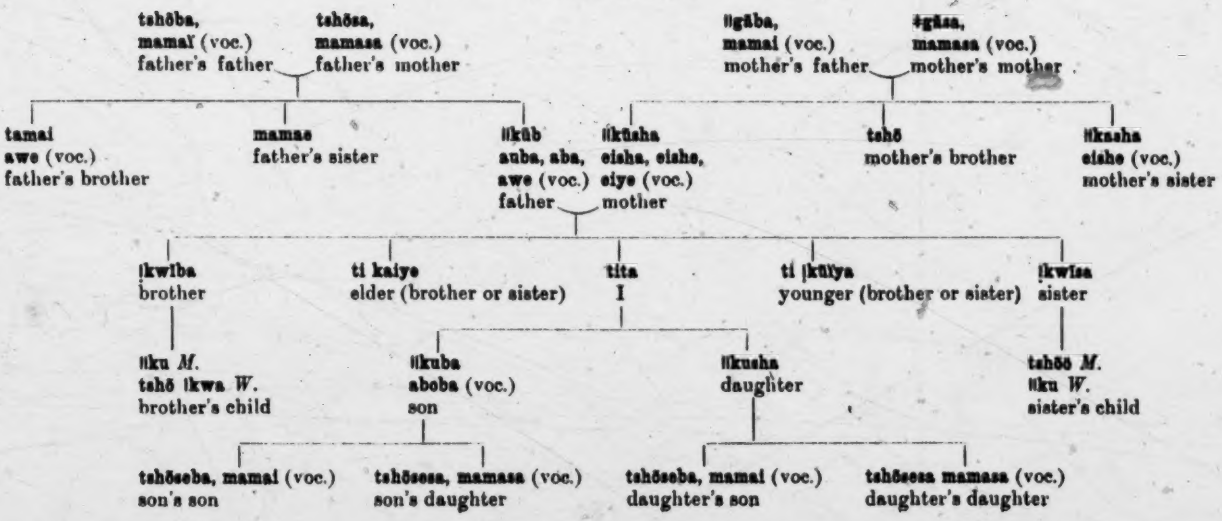
One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

3. Central Group: Among the Naron

(a) *Blood relations*


tshōba, mamai (voc.) father's father
tshōsa, mamasa (voc.) father's mother
ǂgūba, mamai (voc.) mother's father
ǂgūsa, mamasa (voc.) mother's mother
tamai awe (voc.) father's brother
mamasa father's sister
ǂkūb auba, aba, awe (voc.) father
ǂkūsha eisha, eishe, eiye (voc.) mother
tshō mother's brother
ǂkasha eishe (voc.) mother's sister
ǂkwiba brother
ti kaiye elder (brother or sister)
tita I
ti ǂkūiya younger (brother or sister)
ǂkwisa sister
ǂku M. tshō ǂkwa W. brother's child
ǂkuba aboba (voc.) son
ǂkusha daughter
tshōō M. ǂku W. sister's child
tshōseba, mamai (voc.) son's son
tshōsesa, mamasa (voc.) son's daughter
tshōseba, mamai (voc.) daughter's son
tshōsesa mamasa (voc.) daughter's daughter

[p. 68]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

(*b*) *Relations by Marriage*

[P. 69]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relationship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [60] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.